

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 08230 01 OF 02 251229Z

43

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 014352

O 251125Z OCT 75 ZFF-6

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1022

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 8230

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: TU CY GR PFOR

SUBJECT: CYPRUS - BITSIOS' REPLY TO SECRETARY'S MESSAGE

REF: A. ATHENS 8224; B. ATHENS 8156; C. STATE 251023

1. WHEN I SAW FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS LAST NIGHT HE ASKED ME TO THANK THE SECRETARY ONCE AGAIN FOR HIS MESSAGE (REF C) AND TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING ORAL MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY IN REPLY.

2. BEGIN TEXT. I SINCERELY THANK YOU FOR YOUR MESSAGE WHICH WAS FORWARDED TO ME THROUGH YOUR CHARGE' D'AFFAIRES. AS A FIRST STEP, WE ACQUAINTED PRESIDENT MAKARIOS WITH ITS CONTENTS.

3. HOWEVER, AS I POINTED OUT TO MR. STEARNS WHEN HE GAVE ME YOUR MESSAGE, WE DO BELIEVE THAT SINCE THE ARCHBISHOP HAS HAD THE OPPORTUNITY OF PERSONAL TALKS WITH YOU IN THE NOT TOO REMOTE PAST, IT WOULD BE PROPER AND PERHAPS HELPFUL, IF HE WERE INFORMED DIRECTLY BY YOU ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKISH THINKING. I THINK THAT THIS COURSE OF ACTION IS THE MORE INDICATED AS PRESIDENT MAKARIOS IS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HANDLING OF THE ISSUE AND HIS CONSENT AND UNSTINTING COOPERATION WILL PROVE DECISIVE IN THE FUTURE. WITH WARM REGARDS. END TEXT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ATHENS 08230 01 OF 02 251229Z

4. BITSIOS THEN ELABORATED SAYING THAT WHEN THEY INFORMED MAKARIOS OF THE TURKISH POSITION -- WHICH BITSIOS UNHESITATINGLY CHARACTERIZED AS "A PROPOSAL" -- MAKARIOS HAD SAID HE WONDERED WHAT THE SECRETARY'S POSITION WAS ON THE MATTER. ACCORDING TO BITSIOS, MAKARIOS ALSO CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT THE TURKS MAKE ANY PROPOSALS THEY HAVE "IN WRITING", BITSIOS SAID THAT MAKARIOS DID NOT WANT TO GO DOWN THE GARDEN PATH AGAIN OF TURKISH PROMISES OF PROPOSALS THAT NEVER MATERIALIZED, THAT WRITTEN PROPOSALS WERE WHAT SYG WALDHEIM WAS ALSO INSISTING UPON, AND THAT MAKARIOS CLAIMED THE SECRETARY HAD "AGREED" WITH MAKARIOS ON THE NEED FOR WRITTEN, SPECIFIC PROPOSALS IN THEIR LAST MEETING. THEREFORE, ACCORDING TO BITSIOS, MAKARIOS INSISTED ON HEARING DIRECTLY FROM THE SECRETARY BEFORE DECIDING WHAT TO DO NEXT. BITSIOS STRONGLY IMPLIED THAT HE AND CARAMANLIS WERE PREPARED TO LEAN ON MAKARIOS AS MUCH AS THEY FELT THEY COULD BUT THAT THEY WERE HANDICAPPED BY MAKARIOS' ASSERTION THAT THE LATTER HAD HIS OWN "UNDERSTANDING" WITH THE SECRETARY AND THEREFORE THEY NEEDED THE SECRETARY'S HELP IN STRAIGHTENING THE MATTER OUT AND BRINGING MAKARIOS ALONG.

5. I TOLD BITSIOS THAT I WOULD CONVEY HIS MESSAGE AND COMMENTS TO THE SECRETARY AND THAT I THOUGHT THE SECRETARY'S ATTITUDE CONCERNING THE TURKISH PROPOSAL WAS QUITE CLEAR FROM THE SECRETARY'S EARLIER MESSAGE TO BITSIOS. BITSIOS AGREED BUT SAID THE IMPORTANT THING WAS FOR THE SECRETARY TO GET IN TOUCH DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS AS WELL. I ALSO TOLD BITSIOS THAT HE SHOULD NOT BE UNAWARE THAT ONE POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF HIS RESPONSE WAS THAT IT WAS A KIND OF GREEK REBUFF TO THE TURKISH MESSAGE. I SAID I HOPED THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, THAT THE SAD TRAIL OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION WAS LITTERED WITH OPPORTUNITIES EITHER LOST OR SEIZED TOO LATE. TIMING WAS ALL IMPORTANT AND IF THE GREEK SIDE FLUFFED WHAT SEEMED TO BE A BONA FIDE OPENING TOWARDS A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT -- PREFERRING INSTEAD MORE STERILE DEBATE IN THE UN OR UNPRODUCTIVE "DIPLOMATIC" PRESSURES ON ANKARA -- THEY SHOULD NOT HOLD US RESPONSIBLE IF IT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ATHENS 08230 01 OF 02 251229Z

FAILED OR IF THE CONSEQUENCES WERE EVEN MORE DIRE FOR THEIR INTERESTS. OBVIOUSLY, I SAID, THEY HAD TO BE THE JUDGE OF THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND HOW BEST TO SERVE THEM BUT IT SEEMED TO ME THAT LITTLE WOULD BE LOST IN THE GOG GIVING A CLEAR AND POSITIVE RESPONSE TO CAGLAYANGIL'S MESSAGE AND A LOT COULD BE LOST IN FAILING TO DO SO.

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 ATHENS 08230 02 OF 02 251249Z

40

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 014582

O 251125Z OCT 75 ZFF-6

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1023

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 8230

EXDIS

6. BITSIOS DID NOT TAKE TOO KINDLY TO MY COMMENTS AND INDICATED THAT THE GOG COULD HARDLY BE LESS ZEALOUS THAN WALDHEIM IN CARING FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. PERHAPS THE SECRETARY SHOULD ALSO GET WALDHEIM BACK INTO THE PICTURE, HE SAID. AS FOR THE UN DEBATE ON CYPRUS, THAT WAS INEVITABLE UNLESS AN AGREEMENT ON CYPRUS WAS IMMINENT BY NOVEMBER 10, WHICH HE CONSIDERED VIRTUALLY OUT OF THE QUESTION. HIS MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY WAS NOT REPEAT NOT A REBUFF TO THE TURKS BUT RATHER AN UNAVOIDABLE STEP TO CLARIFY WHAT THE SECRETARY HAD AGREED WITH MAKARIOS AND REPEAT AND TO GET MAKARIOS FULLY ENGAGED IN WHAT WAS GOING ON AS HIS INVOLVEMENT AND CONCURRENCE WERE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO ANY NEXT STEPS.

7. BITSIOS ASKED ME TO CONVEY AGAIN HIS THANKS AND WARM REGARDS TO THE SECRETARY, AND WE AGREED TO REMAIN IN TOUCH OVER THE WEEKEND IN CASE THERE WERE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

8. AS THE ABOVE MESSAGE WAS BEING PREPARED FOR TRANSMISSION THIS MORNING (SATURDAY), BITSIOS TELEPHONED ME TO SAY THAT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED A TELEGRAM FROM THE GREEK AMBASSADOR IN ANKARA. THE GREEK AMBASSADOR REPORTED THAT HE SAW CAGLAYANGIL YESTERDAY AND THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD BROUGHT HIM UP-TO-DATE ON CAGLAYANGIL'S

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ATHENS 08230 02 OF 02 251249Z

RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR MACOMBER CONCERNING CYPRUS. CAGLAYANGIL HAD CONVEYED TO THE GREEK AMBASSADOR ESSENTIALLY THE SAME GOT POSITION THAT HAD BEEN TRANSMITTED TO BITSIOS ON THURSDAY BY MEANS OF THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE, BUT IN SOMEWHAT GREATER DETAIL. CAGLAYANGIL TOLD THE GREEK AMBASSADOR THAT AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT "DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS" THE GREEK SIDE WAS EXPECTED TO MAKE A STATEMENT ACCEPTING A BI-ZONAL STATE WITH A WEAK FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND GREEK-TURKISH PARTICIPATION IN THAT GOVERNMENT ON AN EQUAL BASIS. CAGLAYANGIL ALSO TOLD THE GREEK AMBASSADOR, ACCORDING TO BITSIOS, THAT HE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION "THROUGH THE AMERICANS" THAT BITSIOS AND CARAMANLIS DO NOT REJECT THIS FORMULA.

9. BITSIOS SAID HE WAS "VERY EMBARRASSED" BY THIS LATTER STATEMENT, WHICH WOULD OF COURSE COME TO THE ATTENTION OF CARAMANLIS. BITSIOS SAID HE HAD CHOSEN HIS WORDS VERY CAREFULLY WHEN HE HAD MADE "PERSONAL" COMMENTS TO CHARGE STEARNS WHEN HE FIRST RECEIVED THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE LAST THURSDAY NOON (REF B). HE REPEATED THAT HE HAD TOLD STEARNS THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH CARAMANLIS BEFORE GIVING A CONSIDERED REACTION TO THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE CONCERNING THE TURKISH PROPOSAL AND THAT HE THOUGHT THE MATTER SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN UP DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS. I TOLD BITSIOS THAT STEARNS HAD REPORTED HIS REACTION ACCURATELY. BITSIOS WENT ON TO SAY THAT THIS WAS AN ESPECIALLY "DELICATE" MOMENT IN TRYING TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH ON CYPRUS AND THAT IT COULD PROVE A SERIOUS MISTAKE TO INDICATE TO THE GOT OR ANY ONE ELSE THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WAS IN FAVOR OF PURSUING SOME LINE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT ONLY MAKARIOS WAS "BEING DIFFICULT" AND HOLDING MATTERS UP. I TOLD BITSIOS THAT I HAD NOT THE SLIGHTEST INDICATION THAT ANY USG OFFICIAL HAD SAID SUCH A THING TO THE GOT. THE "CORE" OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE OF THURSDAY, BITSIOS SAID -- AND HE STRESSED AGAIN THAT HE WAS CHOOSING HIS WORDS CAREFULLY -- WAS THAT THE MATTER SHOULD NOW BE PUT BY THE SECRETARY DIRECTLY TO MAKARIOS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ATHENS 08230 02 OF 02 251249Z

10. COMMENT: BITSIOS WAS AT GREAT PAINS TO AVOID TAKING

A POSITION AS TO WHETHER THE GOG WAS "ACCEPTING" OR
"REJECTING" THE TURKISH PROPOSAL. HE AND CARAMANLIS
OBVIOUSLY WANT HELP IN BRINGING MAKARIOS ALONG AND
DO NOT WANT TO BE CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE AS ADVOCATES
OF THE TURKISH PROPOSAL. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY
REGARD THE TURKISH PROPOSAL AS A SERIOUS AND SIGNIFICANT
OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARDS A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT AND
THEY DO NOT WISH TO SEE IT LOST. AS IS QUITE APPARENT
FROM BITSIOS REACTION TO HIS AMBASSADOR'S TELEGRAPHIC
REPORT FROM ANKARA, WE MUST BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL IN
ANYTHING WE SAY TO THE TURKS REGARDING THE POSITION OF
THE GREEK GOVERNMENT.
KUBISCH

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ARMS EMBARGO
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 25 OCT 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ATHENS08230
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750372-0383
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751018/aaaaapyo.tel
Line Count: 236
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 75 ATHENS 8224, 75 ATHENS 8156, 75 STATE 251023
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <08 MAY 2003 by Izenbel0>; APPROVED <29 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CYPRUS - BITSIOS' REPLY TO SECRETARY'S MESSAGE
TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR, US, (BITSIOS, DIMITRIOS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006